

[Dummett, J. C.]

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A
LETTER
Concerning the Late
Expedition to *Canada.*

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J. H. T. H. R.

Containing the

History of the

A
LETTER
TO A
Friend in the Country,
On the Late
EXPEDITION
TO
CANADA:
WITH

An Account of former Enterprizes,
a Defence of that DESIGN, and
the Share the Late M---rs had
in it.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *A. Baldwin*, near the Oxford-
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J. E. T. E. H.

A. O. A.

Journal in the Country

of the State

EXPOSITION

T. O. A.

C. A. N. A. D. A.

W. T. H.

An Account of the
History of the
State of the
United States
in the
Year 1800

T. O. A. O. W.

Printed by J. E. T. E. H. in the City of New York

A
LETTER

TO

A FRIEND in the Country,

On the Late

Expedition to *Canada*.

S I R,

I Promis'd you when I was at ———, that I would give you a full Account of the Expedition to *Canada*, which we pleas'd our selves so much with, and from which we expected so much Glory and Advantage.

The

The Publick News will save me a great Part of the Task I undertook: You will e'er this have heard that both Admiral and General are return'd in Safety, that we have lost 26 Companies of Soldiers, a few Women, and a Divine, and that there's no blame laid on any body but the late M——rs, who 'tis said were the Authors of this Design, which it is pretended would not, if it had succeeded, have answer'd the Peril and Expence.

Whoever were the Authors of the Project, I am so far from condemning them, or of judging by Success, that I think it was the best concerted for the Security of our Colonies and Commerce of any in the late War or this, and that only such as are ignorant of both can have any Prejudice to it. There are, I know, a Party of Men in *England*, who are Enemies to Trade, which they have lately distinguish'd by the Name of the *Money'd Interest*. The first Tories began their Faction with it, and the Author of *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* makes merry with a certain Parson, who had treated all Trading Communities as Seditious, and Trade it self as dangerous to *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*. The ingenious Writer of the *Examiner* did the same; and so all Tories must do from their Principles, as long as the Faction

sub-

subsists : For Commerce is as inconsistent with Tyranny as Piety with Persecution. These are the Men, who are pleas'd with every ill Turn that happens to Trade, and consequently are most likely to be least troubled at the Disappointment it has receiv'd by the Defeat of the Design upon *Canada* ; which I shall endeavour to defend against all the Cavils and Pretences that are now rais'd against it.

All Persons that have the least Knowledge of the Affairs of *America*, need not be inform'd of the Necessity there is for dislodging the *French* at *Canada*, to secure our Commerce and Colonies on the Northern Continent, where the *English* in *New-England* and *New-York* are daily encroach'd upon by the *French* and *Frenchify'd Indians* ; and being only in Possession of a Slip of Land on the Coast, are in danger of being driven out of the Country, if the *French* Power encreases, which it has continu'd to do these hundred Years ; and the Encouragement the *French* Government gives their Plantations, shews that there's little likelihood of our gaining the Ground we have lost, if we can preserve what remains.

The main Strength of the *French* in *America* is at *Canada* ; there they supply'd the
Huron

Huron Indians with Arms to fall upon the English in New-England and New-York. With these they have often join'd, and by making sudden Irruptions, have reduc'd those two Colonies to the last Extremity. These things were so well known to Sir William Phips, that he never let the Court be at rest, but was perpetually suggesting, That the whole Interest of the Crown of England in America lay at stake, while Canada was in French Hands ; of which no Man was so good a Judge as himself : And I cannot on this Occasion omit a Speech of his to King William some time before he was made Governour of New-England.

If your Majesty will graciously please to commission and assist me, I am ready to venture my Life again in your Service ; and I doubt not but by the Blessing of God Canada may be added to the rest of your Dominions, which will (all Circumstances consider'd) be of more Advantage to the Crown of England, than all the Territories in the West-Indies are.

The Reasons here subjoin'd are humbly offer'd unto your Majesty's Consideration.

*The Success of this Design will greatly add to the Glory and Interest of the English Crown and Nation, by the Addition of the Beve
Trad*

Trade, and securing the Hudson's Bay Company, some of whose Factories have lately fallen into the Hands of the French; and Increase of English Shipping and Seamen, by gaining the Fishery of Newfoundland, and by Consequence diminish the Number of French Seamen, and cut off a great Revenue from the French Crown, &c.

And it was not long before this, that the two before-mention'd Colonies did at their own Expence equip a Fleet of Ships and an Army of Men, on an Expedition against *Quebec*, in which *Sir William Phips* commanded, and had probably succeeded, had not Sickness seiz'd his Camp, and swept away half of his small Army.

* *Sir William Phips* had with him but 32 small Ships and Tenders, *no Pilots*, about 2000 Men, and did not sail from *Boston* till the 9th of August, 1690. nor enter the River of *Canada* till the 14th of September. When he arriv'd there he met with *contrary Winds*, and was three Weeks in that River. However at last, on the 5th of *October* unpilotted, as my Author says he was, he arriv'd at *Quebec*.

I shall now follow my *New-England* Historian. He had then but 1400 Effective Men, which he landed under the Command of Col. *Whalley*, and expected a Diversion to be made by 1000 Men, who march'd over Land to attack *Mont Royal*; but the latter being deserted by the *Indians*, and unprovided of Canaots on their Arrival at the *Great Lake*, were forc'd to return: Upon which all the Strength of the *French* Colony was turn'd against these 1400 Men, who were also infected with the Small-Pox. Notwithstanding all which Difficulties, about the 10th of *October*, the Time of our late Fleet's Return to *England*, Sir *William* brought his Ships within Pistol-shot of the Enemies Cannon, beat them from them, and very much batter'd the Town of *Quebec*; but the Land Forces being sick and fatigu'd, he order'd them aboard to refresh. If these Troops had seconded his Attack ashore, 'tis thought he had made himself Master of that Town at the first Assault. He now intended to renew his Attack upon the City, by landing his Men under the Shelter of his Guns, having to that Purpose provided also a considerable Number of Wheel-barrows, each of them carrying two Petarrero's to advance before the Men. The Soldiers were still eager for the Assault, and, as my Author expresses himself,

self, *on Fire for the Conquest of Quebec.* Tho it was the middle of *October*, and Winter came on so fast, that several of them were disabled by the Frost seizing their Limbs; yet they could not think of returning home without mastering the Place; or if they had miss'd of doing it by Storm, *they knew*, says the Historian, *that they might, by possessing themselves of the Isle of Orleans, in a little while have starv'd out the Enemy.* But e'er a full Council of War could conclude the next Steps to be taken, a violent Storm arose, that separated the Fleet, and the Snow and the Cold became so extreme, that they could not continue in those Quarters any longer.

Here then we may observe, that the Design was probable, and that it might have been executed even in *October*, had not the *English* from *New-York* been left by their *Indian* Confederates, or had not the Soldiers with *Sir William Phips* been destroy'd by the Small-Pox, and so few in Number, that he could not spare Men to assault the Town at two Places at once.

Which Facts I thought fit to mention, to justify the Enterprize against *Canada*, and that there is no manner of Pretence to accuse the late Ministers, for advising a thing that was so practicable and profitable, and all due

Care was taken that it might succeed in the Execution.

It was no inconsiderable Army that was now sent against *Quebec* *.

7 Regiments of Foot of Regular Troops, some of whom had signaliz'd themselves in *Flanders*, and being compleat may amount to

4200 Men.

A Battallion of Marines

600

Massachussets Regiment

600

Rhode-Island

600

} at least.

6000

A Fleet of 15 Men of War mann'd with above 5000 Seamen, having 880 Guns, 40 Transports, and 6 Store-ships, with all manner of Warlike Stores, a fine Train of Artillery, &c. Nor was this Fleet without Pilots, *English* and *French*; nor was it so late by near a Month before it enter'd the River as Sir *William Phips*'s : For the Letter in the *Post-man* tells us, *They proceeded up Part of the River of Canada the 20th of August*; whereas Sir *William*, as has been observ'd, did not enter it till the middle of *September*.

* *Post-man*, Sep. 18. 1711.

As to the Weather, Sir *William Phips* met with such adverse Winds, that, to use the Words of this Historian, *they were 3 Weeks dispatching the Way, which might otherwise have been done in 3 Days.* The Writer of the Letter in the *Post-man* gives for a Reason of the Disappointment of the late Expedition, that the Wind *began to blow hard at East*, and *Cotton Mather* gives the same Reason for Sir *William's* Arrival at last at *Quebec*; *it was the 5th of October*, continues he †, *when a fresh Breeze coming up at East, carry'd them along by the North Shore up to the Isle of Orleans, and then sailing southerly, they pass'd by the East End of that Island with the whole Fleet, approaching the City of Quebec.*

The *Post-man's* Correspondent informs us, “ That on the 21st of *August* it prov'd foggy,
“ and continu'd so all Night and the Day
“ following, with little Wind in the After-
“ noon, when in an extreme thick Fog it
“ began to blow hard at East and East South
“ East; they found themselves then in a
“ dangerous Circumstance, having neither
“ Soundings nor Sight of Land to steer any
“ Course, or any Anchorage within 60
“ Leagues, and that not safe; so that the
“ *Pilots* on board the *Edgar*, being the best

† Book II. p. 49.

“ in the Fleet, were of Opinion, the Admi-
 “ ral should make a Signal to bring to, which
 “ he did with their Heads to the Southward,
 “ judging by that they might escape any Dan-
 “ ger, and be drawn by the Stream in the
 “ Mid-Channel; but quite contrary, as they
 “ were with the Wind Easterly, and their
 “ Heads to the Southward, in two Hours
 “ they found themselves upon the North
 “ Shore among Rocks and Islands, where the
 “ whole Fleet had like to have been lost,
 &c.

This is so terrible a Blow, that I don't
 believe there's any good *Englishman* who can
 reflect on it without a just Concern for the
 Misfortune of his Country, and it will be im-
 pious in any one to rejoice, as the *Jacobites*
 and *Tories* us'd to do in the late King's Time,
 for every Calamity that befel us. How were
 our *Losses* magnify'd by them, and the *Ad-*
*vant**ages* of the *French* enumerated with Joy?
 How pleas'd did they seem to be with the
 fatal Repulse at *Camaret Bay*? Where the
 early Preparations of the Enemy to receive
 us, gave too much Reason to suspect our Men
 had not fair Play at home; and the brave
Talmash did not stick to express his Resent-
 ments to that purpose. How were they a-
 nimated by our Enemies good Fortune, and
 how dejected by our own? If Winds and
 Seas

Seas fought against us, they wickedly imputed it to the Judgments of the Almighty, and not without Insinuations, that we were thereby punish'd for the abominable *Sin* of the *Revolution*. Who does not know what odious Reflections they made on the deplorable Fate of Sir *Cloudefly Shovel*, whom they could never forgive for his Hatred to the *French*, and the wonderful things he had done against them? Did they not hand about an infamous Libel on so dismal an Occasion, abusing the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and drolling on the Shipwreck of that Admiral and 100 *English* Gentlemen, the Flower of all those destin'd to the Sea Service? 'Tis too horrid to recite it, but there is hardly any one who has not heard it; they taking a particular Pleasure in repeating it over their Cups, and heightning their lewd Mirth with the unspeakable Grief of all true Lovers of their Country, for the untimely Death of a Man, whose Merit made him lamented even by Barbarians *.

Let not such a base Example provoke those who may be out of Humour with the present Affairs, to take any Satisfaction in the Miscarriage of an Enterprize, which was

* *The Muscovite Admiral and Seamen.*

form'd on such reasonable and necessary Grounds: For whoever or whatever is the Cause of any Misfortune to our Country, 'tis the Duty of all that are Well-wishers to her, to grieve when she grieves, and to be heartily sorry for every ill hap that attends her. Neither should any one maliciously reflect on the Execution of a Project, because such and such had the Conduct of it; nor flatter themselves when it has been unsuccessful, that it would have succeeded better in other Hands: But judge with Candor, and always suppose, that whatever was done, was done for the best, and that there are none so much in favour with Heaven as to engage the Winds on their side, or who could like *Joshua* stop the *Sun* then hastening to its Equinox, which is ever the Season of Storms.

I am sure you are not so insensible of the publick Welfare, as to wish ill to it whenever your own *Friends* have not the *Management* of it: And the Pleasure we took in our hopes to hear daily of the *Conquest of Canada*, was the surest sign of our Sincerity in our Prayers for the *Conquerors*. That which is represented now as impracticable, was by us thought not only feasible, but accomplished. Nor were we single in our Opinions; for the greatest of our Weekly Poli-

Politicians tells us, the 6th of October: *The last Letters having left the Fleet in the River of St. Laurence, not very far from Quebec, we may suddenly expect to hear that that great Enterprize has been crown'd with the desir'd Success*; but unhappily in his very next Paper we are told, That the Fleet was never very near *Quebec*, and that having but 10 Weeks Provision, &c. *it was unanimously agreed to return home, without stopping by the way at Placentia, and attempting the French Settlements in Newfoundland, the Navigation in those Parts of the World being so bad and dangerous*; which was certainly as well known 20 Years ago as 'tis now. All we infer from the Event in this Expedition is, that our Fortune in *America* is not like to change from what it has hitherto been; and, as my Historian observes, *even to this Day the general Disaster, which has attended almost every Attempt of the European Colonies in America, is a matter of some close Reflection*: Which such grave Authors as himself may venture to discuss; but it is by no means decent or lawful for us, who were never in the River of *St. Laurence*, and do not know the Nature of the Fogs and Tides there, nor how the Seasons differ one Year from another, to come to any *close Reflection*. But to keep to such as are obvious and natural; and then we can never allow, as some pre-

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tend,

tend, that tho we have not succeeded in this Enterprize, yet we have not lost any thing, because there was nothing to be got if we had had *Quebec*. What signify some pitiful *Furs*, and the beggarly Fishing Trade at the *Banks* of *Newfoundland*, as I have heard it said publickly; whereas it is no hard Matter to prove, that that *Fishery*, if we were sole Masters of it, as we should be in Case the *French* were driven out of *Canada*, would be worth more to us at a very little Expence, and with a great many other Advantages, than the Mines of *Mexico* or even of *Peru* are to the *Spaniards*.

'Tis generally known, that there's nothing requisite to that Trade but our own Shipping, our Seamen and Provisions, with Fishing-Tackle, and some other Necessaries, and that the Product of the Fish brings in, besides the best Commodities of the *Streights*, the Bullion of *Spain* and *Portugal*, to the Encrease of our National Stock more than 600000 *l.* a Year. Now if we were in the entire Possession of that Trade, it would naturally follow, that we should command the Markets, have our own Prices, and dispose of what Quantities we pleas'd, which might soon bring us in a Treasure of Two Millions yearly, and at the same time deprive our Enemies of all means of encreasing and preserving

serving their Maritime Strength and Navigation, and be the utter Ruin of their Commerce. All this by a Voyage of three Weeks or a Month, and with as much Ease and Certainty, as there is Uncertainty and Difficulty in other Projects, which *Abel* is instructed by his evil Genius to calculate at so many Millions, than which nothing can be more merry but his *Religion* and *Politicks* ; tho as wretched as they are, he doubtless has more than one Head to help him. But as profitable as the *Fishing* Trade wou'd be, we seem to despise it for its Ease, and to be fond of what is most visionary and chimerical, or we should not appear so unconcern'd as we do at the ill Circumstances it is left in by our Balk at *Canada* ; from whence the *French* have often sent Ships to destroy our Settlements at *Newfoundland*, as may be seen by the History of that Island, in a Book call'd *The British Empire in America*, wherein is this Passage, in the Close of what relates to *Newfoundland* ; *They threaten still a new Invasion, expecting Ships and more Troops at Quebec from France for that purpose : They destroy'd all the Fishing Craft, and left none of the English Youth they could light on there when they went away ; some they sent to France, who came to England by Exchange ; others, for want of being exchang'd, enter'd into the French Ser-*

vice, and some are Slaves at Quebec. By which it appears plainly, of what Consequence it would have been to our *Newfoundland* Trade and Settlements, if we could have made our selves Masters of *Canada*. I enlarge on this Fishery, because the general Advantage of it is most apparent, and that those who know little of Business, who are new to Affairs of Commerce, may have the quicker Sense of the Loss we have sustain'd, and the Concernment it was to us to have reduc'd that *French* Colony, and have secur'd our Fishery; This amply justifies the late Ministers in that part of their Administration, for which they are now accus'd, the taking the Affair of *Canada* into Consideration, and first forming a Project, the Execution of which they were not entrusted with, and so cannot justly be charg'd with any thing more than the Design; and that, I think, I have sufficiently prov'd to be greatly for the Publick Good.

There are some melancholy People, who on all unhappy Accidents are apt to multiply Losses and Dangers; and these Men are in great Pain for General *Nicholson* and the 1000 Men that march'd by Land to favour the Enterprize against *Quebec*: They could scarce be more troubled if they were already devour'd by the *Canabals*, which are reported to be
the

the Inhabitants of those Parts ; whereas in truth there are no such Monsters in *America*, except some are still left in the *Charibbee-Islands*, far enough from *Quebec* ; and 'tis not to be doubted, but the *French* and their *Indians* would rather make a Bridge of Gold for an Enemy that so lately triumph'd over them, than venture to intercept his Retreat. The great things that General did at *Annapolis*, of which our News-Papers were for many Weeks full, give us sufficient ground to hope, they will be too much frighten'd to dare to disturb him ; and I cannot question, but that both the General and the four Kings, if they were with him, arriv'd safely in their own Country again long before Sir *Hovenden* got to *St. Helens*. I confess I was never under any vain Terrors on his Account, knowing so much of the *French* Prowess, and that of the *Hurons* their Confederates, that I'm satisfy'd they could as soon eat as beat 1000 good *Englishmen*, commanded by so famous an Officer as that General ; whose new Conquest in *Acadia* has been taken care of by General *Hill*, who left a Detachment behind him to garrison *Annapolis* ; which Port will be very commodious for our Fishery, if we do not part with it on a Peace, as it is not likely we shall, nor with any thing we have got from the *French* in the *West-Indies* ; but rather that we shall have Ports and Places laid

laid open to us, tho I am very much afraid *Quebec* will not be of the Number. If there were any hopes that such a thing might happen, I would engage to bring 60 Millions Sterling from thence, sooner than *Abel* should one from any Place between the two Poles. The Loss of Sir *H— W—*'s Ship the *Edgar*, which was blown up at *St. Hellens*, with all the living Souls in her, has added to the Concern of all good Subjects, and made it a common Reflection, that the only good Fortune which the General and Admiral have met with in this Voyage, is to save themselves, and it is hop'd for some happier Enterprize.

F I N I S.